

## Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE  
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AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652:X-GDS 1

TAGS:PCAT, FR, UK, GW, US, USSR

SUBJECT:CAT: US WORKING PAPER

1. SET FORTH BELOW IS THE TEXT OF THE US WORKING PAPER  
TABLED AT ROUND III OF THE CAT TALKS WHICH WE PASSED TO  
FRENCH, BRITISH AND GERMAN REPS IN WASHINGTON ON  
AUGUST 2, 1978.

2. BEGIN TEXT. PROGRAM FOR COOPERATION.  
EFFECTIVE RESTRAINT OF INTERNATIONAL TRANSFERS OF  
CONVENTIONAL ARMS WILL OCCUR ONLY THROUGH THE ACCEPTANCE  
OF A PROGRAM OF COOPERATION BY SUPPLIERS AND RECIPIENTS.  
ANY SUCH PROGRAM MUST HAVE THREE ASPECTS: ADOPTION OF  
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MILITARY, TECHNICAL, POLITICAL, AND LEGAL CRITERIA THAT  
CAN PROVIDE AN OBJECTIVE BASIS FOR ARMS TRANSFER DECISIONS;  
INSTITUTION OF PROCEDURES TO IMPLEMENT SUCH CRITERIA; AND  
ARRANGEMENTS FOR SUPPLIER AND RECIPIENT RESTRAINT ON A  
REGIONAL BASIS. ADOPTION OF THE FOLLOWING MEASURES WOULD  
REPRESENT SIGNIFICANT FIRST STEPS TOWARD THE ACHIEVEMENT  
OF SUCH A PROGRAM OF COOPERATION, AND TOWARD RESTRAINT IN

INTERNATIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS.

I. CRITERIA

IF AGREED TO BY BOTH SIDES, AND INCORPORATED INTO THEIR RESPECTIVE ARMS TRANSFER POLICIES AS HARMONIZED NATIONAL GUIDELINES, THE FOLLOWING CRITERIA WOULD PROVIDE AN OBJECTIVE BASIS FOR THE RESTRAINT OF ARMS TRANSFERS.

A. MILITARY AND TECHNICAL CRITERIA

PARTICULAR RESTRAINT SHOULD BE EXERCISED WITH RESPECT TO ANY TRANSFER OF:

1. WEAPONS PERCEIVED TO HAVE PARTICULAR CAPABILITIES TO ATTACK TARGETS WHICH COVER A WIDE AREA;
2. WEAPONS WHICH ARE PARTICULARLY SUSCEPTIBLE TO MISUSE IN WAYS THAT COULD CAUSE SPECIAL HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS;
3. WEAPONS WHICH ARE PARTICULARLY SUSCEPTIBLE TO, AND HAVE A HIGH POTENTIAL FOR, MISUSE AGAINST COMMERCIAL AIRCRAFT;
4. WEAPONS WHICH ARE PARTICULARLY SUSCEPTIBLE TO, AND HAVE A HIGH POTENTIAL FOR, MISUSE AGAINST COMMERCIAL SHIPPING;
5. ADVANCED WEAPONS OF A TYPE NOT ALREADY PRESENT

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OR GENERALLY IN USE IN A REGION, WHICH ARE OF A TYPE THAT WOULD SIGNIFICANTLY INCREASE THE RECIPIENT'S COMBAT CAPABILITY;

6. QUANTITIES OF WEAPONS LIKELY TO HAVE AN ADVERSE EFFECT ON REGIONAL SECURITY, WHETHER OR NOT THEY ARE OF A TYPE ALREADY PRESENT OR GENERALLY IN USE IN THE REGION;
7. TYPES OR QUANTITIES OF WEAPONS WHICH COULD UNDERMINE REGIONAL ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS, OR IMPEDE PROGRESS TOWARD SUCH AGREEMENTS;
8. WEAPONS WHICH COULD IMPEDE THE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF DISPUTES.

B. POLITICAL AND LEGAL CRITERIA

EACH GOVERNMENT ALSO WOULD AGREE THAT:

1. INTERNATIONAL ARMS TRANSFER DECISIONS SHOULD BE BASED ON THE STRICT OBSERVANCE OF THE PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES ENSHRINED IN THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS. IN PARTICULAR:

(A) ARMS TRANSFERS MAY BE MADE FOR THE PURPOSE OF

ASSISTING A STATE:

- TO MAINTAIN ITS INTERNAL SECURITY;
- TO EXERCISE ITS INHERENT RIGHT TO INDIVIDUAL OR COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 51 OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, INCLUDING THE DEFENSE OF THE RECIPIENT AGAINST ANY ACT OF AGGRESSION; OR
- TO PARTICIPATE IN REGIONAL OR COLLECTIVE MEASURES CONSISTENT WITH THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS OR MEASURES REQUESTED BY THE UNITED NATIONS FOR MAINTAINING OR RESTORING INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY.

(B) ARMS TRANSFERS MAY NOT BE MADE FOR THE PURPOSE OF ASSISTING A STATE:

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- IN ANY THREAT OR USE OF FORCE AGAINST THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OR POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANY STATE, OR IN ANY OTHER MANNER INCONSISTENT WITH THE PURPOSES OF THE UNITED NATIONS, INCLUDING ANY ACT OF AGGRESSION;
- IN ANY THREAT OR USE OF FORCE TO VIOLATE THE EXISTING INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARIES OF ANOTHER STATE, OR INTERNATIONAL LINES OF DEMARCATION, SUCH AS ARMISTICE LINES, WHICH IT IS BOUND TO RESPECT; OR
- IN ANY FORCIBLE ACTION WHICH DEPRIVES PEOPLES OF RIGHTS UNDER THE CHARTER TO SELF-DETERMINATION, FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE, OR WHICH DEPRIVES THEM OF THE EXERCISE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS.

(C) ARMS TRANSFERS MAY NOT BE MADE WHEN SUCH TRANSFERS WOULD VIOLATE MEASURES WHICH THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAS DECIDED ARE TO BE EMPLOYED IN ACCORDANCE WITH CHAPTER VII OF THE UN CHARTER.

2. INTERNATIONAL ARMS TRANSFER DECISIONS SHOULD BE MADE WITH A VIEW TO PROMOTING OR ENHANCING STABILITY AT A LOWER MILITARY LEVEL. IN PARTICULAR:

(A) ARMS TRANSFER DECISIONS SHOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH:

- THE EXTENT AND CHARACTER OF THE RECIPIENT STATE'S MILITARY REQUIREMENTS, WITH PARTICULAR REGARD TO THE POSSIBLE IMPACT OF A TRANSFER IN FUELING AN ARMS RACE.
  - THE ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL CAPABILITY OF THE RECIPIENT STATE, WITH PARTICULAR REGARD TO THE IMPACT OF A TRANSFER ON PROGRAMS OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT;
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AND

-- THE DEVELOPMENT OF BILATERAL OR MULTILATERAL ARMS  
CONTROL ARRANGEMENTS.

(B) ARMS TRANSFER DECISIONS SHOULD TAKE INTO ACCOUNT:

-- THE POSSIBLE IMPACT OF A TRANSFER ON THE INTER-  
NATIONAL TRADE IN IMPLEMENTS OF WAR, ON THE DANGER OF OUT-  
BREAK OF REGIONAL CONFLICT, AND ON THE BURDEN OF ARMAMENTS;  
AND

-- THE POSSIBLE RISK THAT TRANSFERRED ARMS MAY BE  
ACQUIRED BY INTERNATIONAL TERRORISTS.

## II. PROCEDURES.

IN ORDER TO GIVE EFFECT TO THE FOREGOING CRITERIA,  
SUPPLIERS AND RECIPIENTS SHOULD ADOPT AND MAINTAIN  
EFFECTIVE PROCEDURES FOR THEIR IMPLEMENTATION AND FOR THE  
REGULATION OF TRANSFERS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THESE CRITERIA.  
IN PARTICULAR:

1. A CONSULTATIVE MECHANISM SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED  
TO (A) TAKE THE ADDITIONAL STEPS NECESSARY TO IMPLEMENT  
THESE CRITERIA, INCLUDING THE IDENTIFICATION OF WEAPONS  
AND REGIONS TO WHICH THEY WOULD APPLY; (B) PROVIDE A  
FORUM FOR PERIODIC REVIEW AND, IF NECESSARY, MODIFICA-  
TION OF THESE CRITERIA; AND (C) PROVIDE A FORUM FOR CON-  
SULTATIONS ABOUT ARMS TRANSFERS, INCLUDING PROSPECTIVE  
TRANSFERS, WHICH RAISE QUESTIONS OF COMPATABILITY WITH  
THE CRITERIA.

2. ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS SHOULD PROVIDE THAT  
TRANSFERRED ARMS WILL BE USED ONLY FOR LEGITIMATE PURPOSES,  
AND WILL NOT BE RETRANSFERRED WITHOUT FURTHER AGREEMENT  
CONSISTENT WITH RELEVANT CRITERIA.

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3. EFFECTIVE CONTROLS SHOULD BE MAINTAINED OVER ARMS  
EXPORTS. THESE CONTROLS SHOULD SUPPORT AND REINFORCE  
AGREED CRITERIA BY PROVIDING FOR: (A) REGULATION OF ARMS  
SALES PROMOTIONAL ACTIVITIES; (B) ADEQUATE PHYSICAL  
SECURITY FOR WEAPONS THAT ARE PARTICULARLY SUSCEPTIBLE  
TO MISUSE; AND (C) RESTRICTIONS ON CO-PRODUCTION.

### III. REGIONAL RESTRAINT

STEPS TOWARD REGIONAL RESTRAINT ARE POSSIBLE ON BOTH A LONG-TERM AND NEAR-TERM BASIS. IN THE DECLARATION ON DISARMAMENT OF THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT, RECIPIENTS AND SUPPLIERS AGREED THAT, "(T)HERE SHOULD ALSO BE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE LIMITATION OF INTERNATIONAL TRANSFERS OF CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS..."

#### A. OBJECTIVES

1. SUPPLIERS SHOULD ENCOURAGE RECIPIENT INITIATIVES TO REGULATE THE TRANSFER OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS.
2. SUPPLIERS SHOULD SUPPORT AND COMPLY WITH RECIPIENT RESTRAINT AGREEMENTS ONCE THEY ARE ESTABLISHED.
3. SUPPLIERS AND RECIPIENTS SHOULD CONSULT REGULARLY ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF REGIONAL RESTRAINT ARRANGEMENTS TO WHICH THEY ARE PARTIES.

#### B. IMMEDIATE STEPS

WITH REGARD TO LATIN AMERICA

1. PUBLIC INDICATION OF SUPPORT FOR THE AYACUCHO SIGNATORIES AND THE MEXICAN INITIATIVE COUNTRIES, WITH THE HOPE THAT THESE REGIONAL INITIATIVES WILL INSPIRE OTHER REGIONS.
  2. ESTABLISH THE BASIS FOR AN INTERIM SUPPLIER RESTRAINT REGIME, INCLUDING A CONSULTATIVE MECHANISM
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FOR ITS IMPLEMENTATION.

WITH REGARD TO AFRICA, BEGINNING SOUTH OF THE SAHARA

3. AGREE ON THE SUBSTANCE OF A DEMARCHE TO MEMBER STATES OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY ENCOURAGING SELF-RESTRAINT.
4. AGREE ON A PUBLIC STATEMENT OF SUPPORT FOR THE PRINCIPLE OF ARMS TRANSFER RESTRAINT IN AFRICA.
5. ESTABLISH THE BASIS FOR AN INTERIM SUPPLIER RESTRAINT REGIME, INCLUDING A CONSULTATIVE MECHANISM FOR ITS IMPLEMENTATION. END TEXT. CHRISTOPHER

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## Message Attributes

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